/14 cont./

*795 796 788 The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

[484] A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

484 494 788 During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train, truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many [497] pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 494 788 [497] number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.

The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 *795 But that is not the only problem which the organization and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

Sheltering all these people for three days and more is another. [485] The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with [625] sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between [494] Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd [438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front [443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès-[496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A 162 number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their serv- [464] ices as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or *relay station between the hamlet in the bush and* the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
166
[574]
425
[623]

1. Lougan: a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thies.

369 241 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village? His family will come to maintain it each year. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest [454] will give some protection against possible shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 621 The period of the maximum development of Keur-Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the
●484 residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

464 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided
484 into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the
162 ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor
484 force 25.3%
162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers
in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at
464 about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of
484 journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment,
494 a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of
484 transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have
[493] personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from
484 Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on
[369] the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of
[361] "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

462 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word
463 about female work. The great majority of the women do not
162 have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

17: Mercier--8 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/14 cont./

Lebou /Particularism and evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/," Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952. Result of investigations made in 1946.

S 369 W 369 S W 563 [113] [162]

the population. (5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

S W [484]

moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la collectivité Leboue de Dakar /The customary organization (social and political) of the Lebou community of Dakar/," Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

S W [113]

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

S /89 cont./
369 not left Africa for 30 or 40 years. Others, more favored by
563 business, take a trip each year to France or western Asia.
573 Generally, the children pursue their studies in their parents'
484 land of origin and speak French and English fluently. This
191 new generation of Levantines, to whom one must add a few
529 Moroccans, is becoming integrated little by little in the
578 metropolitan milieu through the medium of sports associa-
477 tions and hunting parties. These amicable relations will perhaps favor to a certain degree a closer relationship between these groups which are so often antagonistic on the commercial level.

/90/

2. The Africans.

S According to the census statistics gathered in 1953, the
369 ethnic composition of the city was the following: out of an
563 African population of 36,050 inhabitants, the Wolof appeared
162 as the most numerous and, with 23,624 individuals, made
W up 65.5% of the population; the Toucouleur, numbering
162 3,356, represent 9.3% of the total; the Bambara (Sudanese,
369 rather) attained third place and accounted for 6.8% of the population with 2,447 individuals; the Sérère, although settled in the vicinity of Thiès, included only 1,856 persons, namely, 5.1% of the total. The Peul and the Moors, respectively 1,074 and 843 individuals, made up 3% and 2.4% of the total. The Sarakolé and the various other groups, represented, respectively, by 650 and 2,190 members, formed 1.8% and 6.1% of the population.

W These details speak eloquently of the ethnic hetero-
162 geneity of the Thiès population. Still, it should be empha-
369 sized that the number of true Wolof is certainly less than the
563 statistical figure given; after a stay of some ten years spent in Thiès, the Khassonké or the Sarakolé, who will have lost almost all contact with his country of origin, who will have married a woman not of his race, who will have adopted the language, the food, the corresponding Wolof name, will speak of himself as belonging to this group.